# **Locally Equivalent Weights for Bayesian MrP**

Ryan Giordano, Alice Cima, Erin Hartman, Jared Murray, Avi Feller UT Austin Statistics Seminar September 2025











# Are US non-voters becoming more Republican?

### Blue Rose research says yes:

"Politically disengaged voters have become much more Republican, and because less-engaged voters swung away from [Democrats], an expanded electorate meant a more Republican electorate."

> (Blue Rose Research 2024) (major professional pollsters)

### On Data and Democracy says no:

"Claims of a decisive pro-Republican shift among the overall non-voting population are not supported by the most reliable, large-scale post-election data currently available."

> (Bonica et al. 2025) (major professional researchers)

## Are US non-voters becoming more Republican?

#### Blue Rose research says yes:

"Politically disengaged voters have become much more Republican, and because less-engaged voters swung away from [Democrats], an expanded electorate meant a more Republican electorate."

> (Blue Rose Research 2024) (major professional pollsters)

### On Data and Democracy says no:

"Claims of a decisive pro-Republican shift among the overall non-voting population are not supported by the most reliable, large-scale post-election data currently available."

(Bonica et al. 2025) (major professional researchers)

- The problem is very hard (it's difficult to accurately poll non-voters)
- · Different data sources
- \*\*\* Different statistical methods
  - · Blue Rose uses Bayesian hierarchical modeling (MrP)
  - · On Data and Democracy is using calibration weighting (CW)

# Are US non-voters becoming more Republican?

### Blue Rose research says yes:

"Politically disengaged voters have become much more Republican, and because less-engaged voters swung away from [Democrats], an expanded electorate meant a more Republican electorate."

> (Blue Rose Research 2024) (major professional pollsters)

### On Data and Democracy says no:

"Claims of a decisive pro-Republican shift among the overall non-voting population are not supported by the most reliable, large-scale post-election data currently available."

> (Bonica et al. 2025) (major professional researchers)

- The problem is very hard (it's difficult to accurately poll non-voters)
- · Different data sources
- \*\*\* Different statistical methods
  - · Blue Rose uses Bayesian hierarchical modeling (MrP)
  - · On Data and Democracy is using calibration weighting (CW)

#### **Our contribution**

We define "MrP local equivalent weights" (MrPlew) that:

- · Are easily computable from MCMC draws and standard software, and
- Provide MrP versions of key diagnostics that motivate calibration weighting.
- ⇒ MrPlew provides direct comparisons between MrP and calibration weighting.

## Outline

- · Introduce the statisical problem
  - · Contrast CW and MrP
  - · Prior work: Equivalent weights for linear models
  - Our key idea: Locally equivalent weights for non–linear models  $\,$

### **Outline**

- · Introduce the statisical problem
  - · Contrast CW and MrP
  - · Prior work: Equivalent weights for linear models
  - Our key idea: Locally equivalent weights for non–linear models
- · Locally equivalent weights for covariate balance
  - · Describe covariate balance
  - · Define MrPlew weights and connect them to covariate balance
  - · Theoretical support
  - · Example of real-world results

### **Outline**

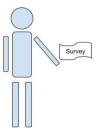
- · Introduce the statistical problem
  - · Contrast CW and MrP
  - · Prior work: Equivalent weights for linear models
  - Our key idea: Locally equivalent weights for non-linear models
- · Locally equivalent weights for covariate balance
  - · Describe covariate balance
  - · Define MrPlew weights and connect them to covariate balance
  - · Theoretical support
  - · Example of real-world results
- · Other uses of locally equivalent weights
  - · Parital pooling
  - · The meaning of negative weights
  - · Frequentist variance estimation
- · Future directions

## The basic problem

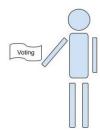
We have a survey population, for whom we observe:

- Covariates **x** (e.g. race, gender, zip code, age, education level)
- Responses *y* (e.g. A binary response to "do you support Trump")

We want the average response in a target population, in which we observe only covariates.



Observe 
$$(\mathbf{x}_i, y_i)$$
 for  $i = 1, \dots, N_S$ 



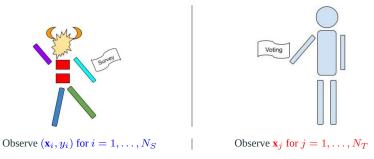
Observe 
$$\mathbf{x}_j$$
 for  $j = 1, \dots, N_T$ 

## The basic problem

We have a survey population, for whom we observe:

- Covariates **x** (e.g. race, gender, zip code, age, education level)
- Responses *y* (e.g. A binary response to "do you support Trump")

We want the average response in a target population, in which we observe only covariates.



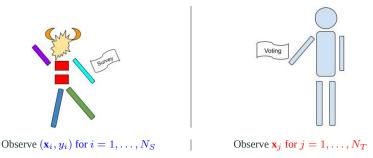
The problem is that the populations may be very different.

## The basic problem

We have a survey population, for whom we observe:

- Covariates **x** (e.g. race, gender, zip code, age, education level)
- Responses *y* (e.g. A binary response to "do you support Trump")

We want the average response in a target population, in which we observe only covariates.



The problem is that the populations may be very different.

Our survey results may be biased.

How can we use the covariates to say something about the target responses?

We want  $\mu := rac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} y_j$ , but don't observe target population  $y_j$ .

- Assume  $p(y|\mathbf{x})$  is the same in both populations,
- But the distribution of  $\boldsymbol{x}$  may be different in the survey and target.

We want  $\mu := rac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} y_j$ , but don't observe target population  $y_j$ .

- Assume  $p(y|\mathbf{x})$  is the same in both populations,
- But the distribution of **x** may be different in the survey and target.

#### Calibration weighting (CW)

► Choose "calibration weights" *w<sub>i</sub>* using only the regressors **x** (e.g. raking weights)

### Bayesian hierarchical modeling (MrP)

We want  $\mu := rac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} y_j$ , but don't observe target population  $y_j$ .

- Assume  $p(y|\mathbf{x})$  is the same in both populations,
- But the distribution of **x** may be different in the survey and target.

### Calibration weighting (CW)

- ► Choose "calibration weights" *w<sub>i</sub>* using only the regressors **x** (e.g. raking weights)
- ightharpoonup Take  $\hat{\mu}_{\text{CW}} = rac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} w_i y_i$

### Bayesian hierarchical modeling (MrP)

- ► Take  $\hat{y}_j = \mathbb{E}_{\mathcal{P}(\theta | \text{Survey data})} \left[ y | \mathbf{x}_j \right]$  and  $\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \hat{y}_j$

We want  $\mu := \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} y_j$ , but don't observe target population  $y_j$ .

- Assume  $p(y|\mathbf{x})$  is the same in both populations,
- But the distribution of **x** may be different in the survey and target.

### Calibration weighting (CW)

- ► Choose "calibration weights" *w<sub>i</sub>* using only the regressors **x** (e.g. raking weights)
- ightharpoonup Take  $\hat{\mu}_{\text{CW}} = \frac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} w_i y_i$ 
  - ightharpoonup Dependence on  $y_i$  is clear

### Bayesian hierarchical modeling (MrP)

- ► Take  $\hat{y}_j = \mathbb{E}_{\mathcal{P}(\theta | \text{Survey data})} [y | \mathbf{x}_j]$  and  $\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \hat{y}_j$
- ▶ Dependence on  $y_i$  very complicated (Typically via MCMC draws from  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|\text{Survey data}))$

We want  $\mu := \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} y_j$ , but don't observe target population  $y_j$ .

- Assume  $p(y|\mathbf{x})$  is the same in both populations,
- But the distribution of **x** may be different in the survey and target.

#### Calibration weighting (CW)

- ► Choose "calibration weights" *w<sub>i</sub>* using only the regressors **x** (e.g. raking weights)
- ightharpoonup Take  $\hat{\mu}_{\text{CW}} = \frac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} w_i y_i$ 
  - ightharpoonup Dependence on  $y_i$  is clear

- ▶ Weights give interpretable diagnostics:
  - · Frequentist variability
  - · Partial pooling
  - · Regressor balance

#### Bayesian hierarchical modeling (MrP)

- ► Take  $\hat{y}_j = \mathbb{E}_{\mathcal{P}(\theta | \text{Survey data})} \left[ y | \mathbf{x}_j \right]$  and  $\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \hat{y}_j$
- ▶ Dependence on  $y_i$  very complicated (Typically via MCMC draws from  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|\text{Survey data}))$

▶ Black box

We want  $\mu := \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} y_j$ , but don't observe target population  $y_j$ .

- Assume  $p(y|\mathbf{x})$  is the same in both populations,
- But the distribution of **x** may be different in the survey and target.

### Calibration weighting (CW)

- ► Choose "calibration weights" *w<sub>i</sub>* using only the regressors **x** (e.g. raking weights)
- lacksquare Take  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathsf{CW}} = rac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} w_i y_i$ 
  - ightharpoonup Dependence on  $y_i$  is clear

- ▶ Weights give interpretable diagnostics:
  - · Frequentist variability
  - · Partial pooling
  - · Regressor balance

#### Bayesian hierarchical modeling (MrP)

- ► Choose  $\mathbb{E}\left[y|\mathbf{x},\theta\right] = m(\theta^\intercal\mathbf{x})$ , choose prior  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|\Sigma)\mathcal{P}(\Sigma)$  (e.g. Hierarchical logistic regression)
- ▶ Take  $\hat{y}_j = \mathbb{E}_{\mathcal{P}(\theta | \text{Survey data})} \left[ y | \mathbf{x}_j \right]$  and  $\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \hat{y}_j$
- ► Dependence on  $y_i$  very complicated (Typically via MCMC draws from  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|\text{Survey data}))$

#### Black box

 $\leftarrow$  We open this box, providing analogues of all these diagnostics

#### Prior work

Gelman (2007b) observes that MrP is a CW estimator when one uses linear regression to form  $\hat{y}$ :

$$\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \hat{y}_j = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \underbrace{\mathbf{x}_j^\intercal \hat{\theta}}_{\text{Linear in } y_j}$$

Most existing literature on comparing CW and MrP focus on such linear models. <sup>1</sup>

Let's spend some time discussing why it is reasonable to even attempt such a thing as forming approximate equivalent weights for non–linear estimators.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For example, Gelman (2007b), B., F., and H. (2021), and Chattopadhyay and Zubizarreta (2023).

Gelman (2007b) observes that MrP is a CW estimator when one uses linear regression to form  $\hat{y}$ :

$$\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \hat{y}_j = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \underbrace{\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}}_{\text{Linear in } y_i}$$

Most existing literature on comparing CW and MrP focus on such linear models. <sup>1</sup> But what if you use a non–linear link function? Or a hierarchical model?

"It would also be desirable to use nonlinear methods ... but then it would seem difficult to construct even approximately equivalent weights. Weighting and fully nonlinear models would seem to be completely incompatible methods." — (Gelman 2007a)

Let's spend some time discussing why it is reasonable to even attempt such a thing as forming approximate equivalent weights for non–linear estimators.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For example, Gelman (2007b), B., F., and H. (2021), and Chattopadhyay and Zubizarreta (2023).

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta})$ .
- Suppose  $x \in \mathcal{X}$  is discrete and saturated.

### Then MrP is a CW estimator.

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta})$ .
- Suppose  $\mathbf{x} \in \mathcal{X}$  is discrete and saturated.

#### Then MrP is a CW estimator.

- Let  $\overline{y}_S^c$  denote the survey average among  $\mathbf{x}=c$  for  $c\in\mathcal{X}$
- For  $\mathbf{x} = c$ ,  $m(\hat{\theta}^{\mathsf{T}}\mathbf{x}) = \overline{y}_S^c$
- Let  $N_S^c$  (or  $N_S^c$ ) denote the # of survey (or target) observations with  $\mathbf{x}_n = c$ .

$$\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{c \in \mathcal{X}} \underbrace{N_T^c \overline{y}_S^c}_{\text{Linear in } y_i} = \frac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} w_i^{\text{MrP}} y_i$$

For 
$$w_i^{\text{MrP}} = \frac{N_T^c/N_T}{N_S^c/N_S}$$
 when  $\mathbf{x}_i = c$ .

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta})$ .
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^\mathsf{T} \mathbf{x}$ .

Then MrP is approximately a CW estimator.

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta})$ .
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^\intercal \mathbf{x}$ .

## Then MrP is approximately a CW estimator.

$$\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta})$$

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta})$ .
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^\mathsf{T} \mathbf{x}$ .

## Then MrP is approximately a CW estimator.

$$\begin{split} \hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} &= \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \\ &\approx \int m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \end{split} \tag{Law of large numbers)}$$

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta})$ .
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^\mathsf{T} \mathbf{x}$ .

## Then MrP is approximately a CW estimator.

$$\begin{split} \hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} &= \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta}) \\ &\approx \int m(\mathbf{x}^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \qquad \text{(Law of large numbers)} \\ &= \int \frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} m(\mathbf{x}^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \qquad \text{(Multiply by } \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) / \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})) \end{split}$$

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}).$
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^\mathsf{T} \mathbf{x}$ .

### Then MrP is approximately a CW estimator.

$$\begin{split} \hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} &= \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta}) \\ &\approx \int m(\mathbf{x}^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \qquad \text{(Law of large numbers)} \\ &= \int \frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} m(\mathbf{x}^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \qquad \text{(Multiply by } \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) / \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})) \\ &\approx \int (\alpha^\mathsf{T} \mathbf{x}) m(\mathbf{x}^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \qquad \text{(By assumption)} \end{split}$$

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^\intercal \theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{MrP} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta}).$
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^\mathsf{T} \mathbf{x}$ .

### Then MrP is approximately a CW estimator.

$$\begin{split} \hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} &= \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \\ &\approx \int m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \text{(Law of large numbers)} \\ &= \int \frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \text{(Multiply by } \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) / \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})) \\ &\approx \int (\alpha^{\mathsf{T}} \mathbf{x}) m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \text{(By assumption)} \\ &\approx \alpha^{\mathsf{T}} \frac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} \mathbf{x}_i m(\mathbf{x}_i^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \qquad \text{(Law of large numbers)} \end{split}$$

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{MrP} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}).$
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^\mathsf{T} \mathbf{x}$ .

### Then MrP is approximately a CW estimator.

$$\begin{split} \hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} &= \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \\ &\approx \int m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \text{(Law of large numbers)} \\ &= \int \frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \text{(Multiply by } \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) / \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})) \\ &\approx \int (\alpha^{\mathsf{T}} \mathbf{x}) m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x}) d\mathbf{x} \qquad \text{(By assumption)} \\ &\approx \alpha^{\mathsf{T}} \frac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} \mathbf{x}_i m(\mathbf{x}_i^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta}) \qquad \text{(Law of large numbers)} \\ &= \alpha^{\mathsf{T}} \frac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} \mathbf{x}_i y_i \qquad \text{(Property of exponential family MLEs)} \end{split}$$

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta})$ .
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^\intercal \mathbf{x}$ .

$$\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\intercal \hat{\theta}) = \frac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} \alpha^\intercal \mathbf{x}_i y_i + \text{Small error}$$

We don't observe  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})}$ , so it's hard to estimate  $\alpha$  directly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Krantz and Parks 2012; **G.**, Stephenson, et al. 2019.

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \hat{\theta})$ .
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^\intercal \mathbf{x}$ .

$$\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\intercal \hat{\theta}) = \frac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} \alpha^\intercal \mathbf{x}_i y_i + \text{Small error}$$

We don't observe  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})}$ , so it's hard to estimate  $\alpha$  directly.

### **Key idea (informal)**

If 
$$\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} pprox rac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} w_i^{\mathrm{MrP}} y_i$$
 for some  $w_i^{\mathrm{MrP}}$ , then 
$$w_i^{\mathrm{MrP}} pprox rac{\partial \hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}}}{\partial y_i}$$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Krantz and Parks 2012; G., Stephenson, et al. 2019.

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta)$ , with MLE  $\hat{\theta}$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\mathsf{T} \hat{\theta})$ .
- Suppose there exists  $\alpha$  such that  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})} \approx \alpha^{\mathsf{T}} \mathbf{x}$ .

$$\hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} m(\mathbf{x}_j^\intercal \hat{\theta}) = \frac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} \alpha^\intercal \mathbf{x}_i y_i + \text{Small error}$$

We don't observe  $\frac{\mathcal{P}_T(\mathbf{x})}{\mathcal{P}_S(\mathbf{x})}$ , so it's hard to estimate  $\alpha$  directly.

### **Key idea (informal)**

If 
$$\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} pprox rac{1}{N_S} \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} w_i^{\mathrm{MrP}} y_i$$
 for some  $w_i^{\mathrm{MrP}}$ , then 
$$w_i^{\mathrm{MrP}} pprox rac{\partial \hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}}}{\partial y_i}$$

For logistic regression, could compute and analyze  $\frac{\partial \hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}}}{\partial y_i}$  using the implicit function theorem.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Krantz and Parks 2012; G., Stephenson, et al. 2019.

# Locally equivalent weights for hierarchical logistic regression MrP

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta)$ .
- Set a hierarchical prior  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|\Sigma)\mathcal{P}(\Sigma)$ , use MCMC to draw from  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|Survey data)$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \mathbb{E}_{\mathcal{P}(\theta | \mathrm{Survey \, data})} \left[ m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \theta) \right]$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Gustafson 1996; **G.**, Broderick, and Jordan 2018.

# Locally equivalent weights for hierarchical logistic regression MrP

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta)$ .
- Set a hierarchical prior  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|\Sigma)\mathcal{P}(\Sigma)$ , use MCMC to draw from  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|Survey data)$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \mathbb{E}_{\mathcal{P}(\boldsymbol{\theta} | \mathrm{Survey \, data})} \left[ m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \boldsymbol{\theta}) \right]$ .

#### MrP locally equivalent weights (MrPlew)

For new data  $\tilde{Y}_S$ , form a series expansion

$$\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}}(\tilde{Y}_S) \approx \hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}}(Y_S) + \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} w_i^{\mathrm{MrP}}(\tilde{y}_i - y_i) \quad \text{where} \quad w_i^{\mathrm{MrP}} := \frac{\partial \hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}}}{\partial y_i}.$$

Our task is to rigorously show that even such local weights can be used diagnostically.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Gustafson 1996; **G.**, Broderick, and Jordan 2018.

## Locally equivalent weights for hierarchical logistic regression MrP

- Suppose the model is  $m(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta) = \operatorname{Logistic}(\mathbf{x}^{\mathsf{T}}\theta)$ .
- Set a hierarchical prior  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|\Sigma)\mathcal{P}(\Sigma)$ , use MCMC to draw from  $\mathcal{P}(\theta|Survey data)$ .
- MrP is  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}} = \frac{1}{N_T} \sum_{j=1}^{N_T} \mathbb{E}_{\mathcal{P}(\theta | \mathrm{Survey \, data})} \left[ m(\mathbf{x}_j^{\mathsf{T}} \theta) \right]$ .

#### MrP locally equivalent weights (MrPlew)

For new data  $\tilde{Y}_S$ , form a series expansion

$$\hat{\mu}_{\mathsf{MrP}}(\tilde{Y}_S) \approx \hat{\mu}_{\mathsf{MrP}}(Y_S) + \sum_{i=1}^{N_S} w_i^{\mathsf{MrP}}(\tilde{y}_i - y_i) \quad \mathsf{where} \quad w_i^{\mathsf{MrP}} := \frac{\partial \hat{\mu}_{\mathsf{MrP}}}{\partial y_i}.$$

Our task is to rigorously show that even such local weights can be used diagnostically.

- If  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}}$  is linear in  $Y_S$ , this definition recovers the true weights
- Whether or not  $\hat{\mu}_{\mathrm{MrP}}$  is linear in  $Y_S$  , this definition is valid "locally" for  $\tilde{Y}_S$  "nearby"  $Y_S$  .
- + For MCMC, compute and analyze  $\frac{\partial \hat{\mu}_{\text{MrP}}}{\partial y_i}$  using Bayesian sensitivity analysis.  $^3$

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Gustafson 1996; G., Broderick, and Jordan 2018.

# The weights can look very different!

Does this mean anything? Are the differences important?

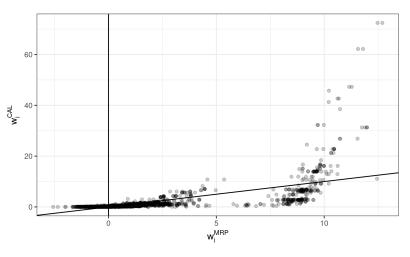


Figure 1: Comparison between raking and MrPlew weights for a particular example

#### **Future work**

Note that there was no talk of correct specification for the data you have.

That was a foregone conclusion when we started looking at equivalent weights!

How do you peform model checking with sensitivity analysis?

Existing methods evaluate whether the analysis changes "a lot" when you:

- Parametrically perturb the model (e.g. fit a richer model class)
- Non–parameterically perturb the data (e.g. produce gross outliers)

#### The problem is:

- · How much is "a lot"?
- Non-parametric data perturbations are hard to reason about
- It's hard to say whether parametric model changes are enough

#### Instead, we

- · Parametrically perturb the data
- Observe whether our model could detect the change
- Know exactly the expected change (don't have to decide on what "a lot" means)
- Easy to reason about whether the data perturbation is reasonable
- Don't need to propose an alternative model, instead study the model you have

### Related and future work

#### Student contributions and future work:

- · Alice Cima contributed significantly to this work
- Vladimir Palmin is working on extending MrPlew to lme4
- Sequoia Andrade is working on generalizing to other local sensitivity checks
- Lucas Schwengber is working on novel flow–based techniques for local sensitivity



Alice Cima

No picture! Vladimir Palmin



Sequoia Andrade



Lucas Schwengber

#### References



B., Eli, Avi F., and Erin H. (2021). Multilevel calibration weighting for survey data. arXiv: 2102.09052 [stat.ME].



Blue Rose Research (2024). 2024 Election Retrospective Presentation. https://data.blueroseresearch.org/2024retro-download. Accessed on 2024-10-26.



Bonica, A. et al. (Apr. 2025). Did Non-Voters Really Flip Republican in 2024? The Evidence Says No.

https://data4democracy.substack.com/p/did-non-voters-really-flip-republican.



Chattopadhyay, A. and J. Zubizarreta (2023). "On the implied weights of linear regression for causal inference". In: Biometrika 110.3, pp. 615–629.



G., T. Broderick, and M. I. Jordan (2018). "Covariances, robustness and variational bayes". In: Journal of machine learning research 19.51.



G., W. Stephenson, et al. (2019). "A swiss army infinitesimal jackknife". In: The 22nd International Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Statistics. PMLR, pp. 1139–1147.



Gelman, A. (2007a). "Rejoinder: Struggles with survey weighting and regression modelling". In: Statistical Science 22.2, pp. 184–188.



(2007b). "Struggles with survey weighting and regression modeling". In.



Gustafson, P. (1996), "Local sensitivity of posterior expectations", In: The Annals of Statistics 24.1, pp. 174–195.



Krantz, S. and H. Parks (2012). The Implicit Function Theorem: History, Theory, and Applications. Springer Science & Business Media.